4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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or four related men will do their plowing, weed-cutting, or harvesting together. A large cattle-owner will pay his relatives in cash, but the usual return is in labor. 596

Associated with the necessity for co-operation is the custom of exchanging gifts among relatives. In the old days gifts—usually of food—were exchanged frequently and regularly between related households. No return was asked, but the recipient was always expected to make a similar gift in the future. It is probable that this device was developed to insure the survival of the group by more equitably distributing the supply of food and other necessities, although it was never mere barter. Together with the custom of assisting relatives, the gift exchange was a form of investment, as Underhill points out.[8] The custom acquired overtones of social significance, and the gift became a symbol of esteem and solidarity among kinfolk. Today if a family has a surplus of anything—as when a steer is butchered or many rabbits are killed—portions are sent to members of the extended family,[9] and sooner or later a return gift is received. No thanks are voiced, except indirectly to other people through praise of the giver's generosity. Although the gift exchange seems to have lost most of its economic character and to have survived only as a social custom, it is still important. If individuals or families who can do so do not give or return gifts, they are looked at askance. 602 431

All members of the extended family have a strong feeling of responsibility toward one another. If an old couple live alone, a child is often sent to live with and help them. If they are in need and their own children are unable or unwilling to take care of them, the relatives feel it is their duty to help. So strong is this feeling that, when the distribution of relief supplies was begun during the depression, the Papago requested that some form of work be required in return, lest the system of family responsibility break down and the solidarity and independence of the people be destroyed. Throughout the lean years, the number of families continually on relief rolls remained very small. 596

Family relationship also carries an obligation to settle disputes amicably. Regarding one suit brought over the division of a field among relatives, the villagers remarked, "And they are closely related! They should be able to settle it among themselves without having to take it to court and say all those mean things." Papago believe that recourse to legal authority should be taken only by those who are not related. The old system is breaking down, and disputes which would have been settled by relatives in the old days are now being brought to court. In the eastern districts of the Reservation the effective sanc- 596 578 691

8. *Op. cit.*, pp. 42, 100.

9. Gift exchange is now being extended to include close friends who are not relatives.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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596 tions are now changing from social to legal, but in the more conservative
579 western sections few, if any, family disputes are taken to court.
691

Not all activities among relatives are dictated by such sober considerations
574 as economic necessity and family pride. The Papago are fond of visiting, and relatives are always welcome. The visitor is given a small gift of food to symbolize the host's happiness at his visit and the affection he bears him. In the old days it was inconceivable for one to visit an unrelated household. Today the men are freer to visit whomever they please, but if a women ventures to visit an unrelated friend, someone is likely to remark, "Why should she go down there? Hasn't she anything to do at home [i.e., in her own family]?" Now that children are forming close friendships outside the family, at school and later on jobs, this insularity is beginning to break down. Still—though some relatives are more compatible than others—hospitality is offered principally to the extended family.

608 Among the Catholic Papago the family group has been widened to include persons not necessarily related by blood—godparents. According to both Sonora and Roman Catholic teaching, a child must be sponsored in baptism by a godfather and a godmother. This requirement the Papago integrated with characteristic ease into their own social structure, and godparents are now part of the extended family. They pray at the child's bedside if he is critically ill, and, if he dies, they may prepare the body for burial. Not only are they responsible for seeing that the child has proper religious training; they also serve as secondary parents. If the child should be orphaned and no relatives can care for him, the godparents will take charge of him.

A warm and close relationship is established not only between the child and his godparents but also between the two families. Parents and godparents call each other *compahli* and *comahli*, from the Spanish *compadre* ("co-father") and *comadre* ("co-mother"). One pair of godparents serves for all the children of a family. If the godparents are man and wife, they will ask the parents of their godchildren to serve as sponsors for their own children. Children of both pairs call each other by the kin terms for older and younger siblings. The rights and obligations of relatives are extended to godparents and their children, but these extensions are not so vital a part of the family system as among the Arizona Yaqui, who have a similar arrangement.[10]

596 Today there is no wider kin group among the Papago than the extended

10. See Edward H. Spicer, *Pascua: A Yaqui Village in Arizona*, pp. 91–116. The extended family was almost nonexistent among the Yaqui in Arizona as a result of war, deportation, and emigration, and thus the ceremonial sponsors took the place of the extended family. With the Papago, among whom the extended family is strong, the ceremonial sponsorship is only an added security, and therefore is not the elaboration of the family system that it is among the Yaqui.